162 621 In the age group ranging from 15 to 30, there were 30 males and 20 females, that is, 50 individuals of both sexes.

In the age group ranging from 31 to 60, there were 13 males and 12 females, that is to say, 25 individuals of both sexes. Only two among them were older than 45, one woman who was 48 and one who was 60.

There was not a single individual older than 60.

The most striking fact is the small number of individuals over 30 years of age. On the other hand, the number of individuals younger than 15 is not, in proportion, as small as the corresponding group among certain "civilized" peoples. [Ed., the remainder of p. 187 is omitted.]

[103:188] The 35 Tampiitíua couples included 20 where [582] the husband appeared to be older than the wife, 12 where the opposite seemed to be the case, and three where they seemed to be of the same age. I say "appeared to be older" to acknowledge minor inaccuracies in reckoning people's ages, even though I did not do this alone but in collaboration with Mr. Kegel, who had more points of reference than I because he had observed these Indians for several years.

582 162 The following table shows the number, sex, and age of the occupants of each house indicated on the ground plan of the village. [Table appears here.]

621 166 I heard in 1935, and published in 1937, that the Tapirapé formerly had five villages whose descendants make up the present population of Tampiitíua (cf. Baldus 17, 86). Wagley (2, 408-409) confirmed this, adding (4, 5) that those five villages "probably existed as late as the turn of the century and are said to have had a population of about 200 people each." He also refers (ibid.) [731] to epidemics as the only cause for the abandonment of these villages. I have already mentioned that in the case of the village [648] abandoned in 1932 fear of the Kayapó must have been a contributing factor. It is worth noting the explanation given for the move of 78 166 621 the occupants of three other villages to Tampiitíua: there were no médicos-feiticeiros [Tr., sorcerers--medicine men] left among them. This might, of course, have occurred as the result of an epidemic. The interesting fact, however, is that the Tapirapé did not mention disease but the lack of pagés [Tr., shamans] as the reason for abandoning the villages. Nothing could

[Text continues on p. 42]

166 756 [621] underline more clearly the importance of these men.

The village abandoned in 1932 was called Moytáua, a word 103 made up of moyva, "cane," and táua, "village." The other three 166 extinct villages were called (1) Kuruantáua, from kuruś or koruś "squash" (Brazilian Cucurbitacea), which remained in the Brazilian vernacular as cruś [Tr., Sicana odorifera]; (2) Mankotáua, from Manko, the name of a Karajá who was the village chief; and (3) Chechotáua, chechó probably being jejú (Hoplerythrinus unitaeniatus), a fish akin to the traíra [Tr., Amazon lungfish], or else a contraction of chechoó, "big chechó," that is to say, the piracurú (Arapaima gigas). It may be that Chechotáua was the "Chichutáua" Wagley heard about, and that the Tampiitáua emigrants [103:189] moved to the site of the former village of this name on account of the food plants which undoubtedly still grew in the surrounding plots.

166 361 Tampiitáua, the "village of the tapir," no longer stands where it was at the time of my visit. It was moved farther from the river. This represents a move away from the Whites and, to some extent, "toward the Kayapó." Such a move appears to me as 648 a "healthy policy." There were, and continue to be, attempts to relocate the Tapirapé at a "Protective Post" located near the Araguaia. The immediate and continuous contact of these Indians with the most varied representatives of our civilization, which would be inevitable if the above-mentioned project were to be carried out, would bring about the certain annihilation of this peaceful [K1] Tupí tribe, whose numbers, as I write this (1944), probably do not reach 150. [Ed., end of Vol. 103; the section in Vol. 104, pp. 93-100, is omitted.]

[105:77] Chapter 6

Physical Appearance and Ornamentation

142 Coming from the Karajá to the Tapirapé, one immediately notices that the latter, on the average, are much shorter and less sturdy, especially shorter than the Karajá I saw in Santa Isabel, and less sturdy than the inhabitants of Berocomandú and other villages located north of the mouth of the Tapirapé River. Fritz

301 The glue is a resin (ykyryva in
237 Tapirapé) used by both sexes to anoint the body and hair. Once
[314] crushed, it is mixed with peanut oil (chany). [Ed., the last two
[381] paragraphs of p. 130 and all but the last paragraph of p. 131 are omitted.]

[108:131] Larger feather ornaments are used by the Tapirapé, as a rule, only on festive occasions. The Tapirapé Kanchovanî, however, when I invited him to come with me to the Araguaia, showed me the large red macaw feathers that he intended to wear on his head upon reaching the Karajá villages. These are the
[171] feathers prized most highly both in his own tribe and among the shore dwellers of the big river. I never saw any Tapirapé use them aside from such occasions. [Ed., the remainder of p. 131 and the first half of p. 132 are omitted.]

[108:132] The circular feather headdress is of the greatest
292 importance to the Tapirapé. Referring to its use in the Thunder
796 ceremony, Wagley writes (4, 33-34 [Tr., in English at 4, 89-90]): "... each man making the ceremonial circuit wore an elaborate
[796] headdress--the ankungitána. This headdress enfuriates Thunder and attracts his creatures to the wearer. Without exception all who
292 wore the ankungitána, even Panterî and Urukumû, showed genuine
781 fear and fell unconscious before the forces of Thunder. Before a man could put the headdress on, a shaman waved it slowly before his eyes. The shaman then placed the headdress on his head,
●[756] blowing smoke through the feathers to take out some of the terrific 'heat.' When Urukumû wore the ankungitána, he began to weave and stumble before he left the first house of the circle. He then had to be led and supported by two young men. Before he had completed one circuit of the village, he was seized by a trance that seemed even more violent than that of the younger men. His body was rigid, and he was carried through the remaining circle of houses to the house at the southwest where he was treated by Panterî. Panterî likewise was defeated and fell when he wore the
787 headdress. During his trance he sang snatches of a song, and when
796 he regained consciousness he said he had traveled to the house of Thunder. Later, Panterî [108:133] related to me his experiences during his trance. His story, freely translated, was this: 'I ate much smoke and then smoked again. I sang, I saw one large sun; it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They

787 approached and left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came in
776 a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (a topī). It wore a small headdress of red parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug (thus Panterí vanquished the topī), but it left the house. Then all was dark. (Panterí had not defeated the topī, and it had consequently shot him with his arrow). I saw many suns. I traveled, singing as I walked. I walked three days, and I climbed a large mountain on the other side of the
[821] Araguaia. That is where the sun comes up. I saw Thunder; he is big, and his body is covered with white hair. He had many feathers of the red parrot. I saw many topī and many souls of shamans near
[775] him. I did not talk but returned fast.' He added later that if he
[756] had touched Thunder's rattle he would have had to stay in the other world; he would have died. A few novices, and now and
292 again a rare layman, wore the ankungitána, and people marveled
781 at their courage. Most Tapirapé men, however, did not have the courage to wear it. The headdress added danger and violence also to the sundown phases of the ceremony on the third and fourth days. At the height of the excitement, when it was apparent that both the powerful shamans had sighted creatures of Thunder, Panterí grabbed the headdress, which was hanging from a rafter, and waved it in the air, threatening and challenging these enemies. He fell immediately, stricken by a panché-iúnwera. Urukumú picked up the ankungitána. He too then fell unconscious and all the participants with him."

825 I have already mentioned that red macaw feathers are prized
[292] most highly by the Tapirapé. They make up the essential part of
[237] the circular occipital headdress. Wagley (ibid., Note 30) says in this connection: "Red parrot feathers are 'hot like fire,' say the
[821] Tapirapé; the sun is hot because he wears a large headdress of red feathers. This heat always attracts the supernatural. Tapirapé told
[753] me that an attack of malaria I had was caused by my having left a headdress of red parrot feathers hanging openly in my house."

The feather ornament used in the Thunder ceremony does not
292 touch the head directly when attached to it, but remains separated
285 by means of a very peculiar wooden edifice (cf. ibid., Fig. 1).
114 The figures in Wagley's work (ibid., Figs. 1-9) do not provide any details about the construction of the headdress or the fastening of the feathers. The frame (Photo. 15) that I acquired in Tampiitáua

poles. A large pot full of water is placed nearby to wash the mother and child. If the confinement is difficult, a woman presses the mother's belly until the child comes out. The baby is received in the arms of another woman who waits beneath the mother. The umbilical cord is severed with a cane shiver, and the afterbirth is buried. Both father and mother abstain from any food for one day. Both stay in their nets "until the loss of blood ceases, that is, often for several days." There are no food abstentions for the future parents prior to the birth. For about two years after the birth of the child, the parents give up peanuts and bananas. In addition, the father frequently abstains from those animal foods that are never eaten by the woman, especially tapir, marsh deer, rhea, and alligator, until the child is almost six years old. Only if he is a shaman may he eat of everything. The wife of a shaman, however, does not share this privilege.

The Tapirapé believe that the child will die if these abstentions are not observed. They say that in this case death would not be caused by an evil sorcerer, as they usually believe, but by the food that should not be consumed and that turns evil when it is eaten. And they add that in such cases the Whites have many medicines that might save the child, while the Tapirapé do not have any, and so among them the child would be lost. [123:54] When I offered them deer meat, which is coveted by all Tampiitaua men (perhaps because it is a type of game that, although abundant, is seldom killed without firearms), it was not accepted by the fathers of one-year-old children. Even Urukumy who, as a shaman, could have eaten the meat, was careful to pass it on to someone else after courteously accepting it from me.

The abstention from bananas and peanuts is impressive when we consider the important role played by these foods in the Tapirapé diet. It is possible that the high mortality among children during the first two years of life may have led to such onerous rules. Actually, these Indians assert that their Karajá neighbors and the Whites eat of anything when their child is ill, while Tapirapé parents, in such cases, subsist exclusively on mahioc flour and maize and manioc cauí, even when the child is older than six.

The behavior of Indian parents toward the newborn recalls to some extent a custom of the colonists of São Bonifácio, in the state of Santa Catarina, who come for the most part from Westphalia.

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

several had become excellent canoe-men. Small Tapirapé boys spent a large part of the day, as do Carajá boys, swimming in the nearby river. Thus, within about a decade, the Tapirapé had shifted from "foot Indians" (one of the criteria for Marginal Cultures, according to the *Handbook of South American Indians*[4]) to "canoe Indians" (a criterion for Tropical Forest Cultures according to the same source). Such criteria as the mode of transportation obviously have little historical depth and are thus of little value for classificatory purposes.

In 1940, the most important individuals in Tapirapé society were the shamans or *pančes*; the tribe depended upon them for protection against dangerous supernaturals, cures for illness, and even bringing the spirits of children so that women would conceive. But in 1953 not one individual in the Tapirapé village would admit that he was a *pančе*. Opronunxui and Antonio Pereira, two Tapirapé men between 30 and 40 years of age, were said to be able to "cure" a little, but they had none of the formidable powers of the old *pančes*. "The *pančes* have ended," said the Tapirapé. As a result, they are today more vulnerable to the dangerous supernaturals, but they are also free from the deadly effects of sorcery which they believed the old shamans practiced and had caused their rapid population decline. In fact, the suspicion of shamans and the relatively frequent execution of those suspected of sorcery made shamanism such a dangerous occupation that no one wishes to take up that once honored profession. But without shamans Tapirapé religion has lost its central figures, and much of the old religious knowledge will be lost to Tapirapé culture. Without the full knowledge of their own religion, the Tapirapé are today more vulnerable to the teachings of missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, who are now active among them.

With so few members, Tapirapé culture is "passing through a narrow funnel" so to speak; in other words,

[4] Bulletin 143, Bureau of American Ethnology, vol. I, 1946; also see Ibid., vol. 5, pp. 678, 1949.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

893
●756
237
796

Fig. 1

Anhangüéra — Ornamento de cabeça para a cerimônia do Trovão

Anhangüéra — Headdress for the Thunder Ceremony

[p. 42 is blank]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

142
291
301
●756
276
786
796

Fig. 2

Um jovem pagé, em estado de transe, quando realizava o circuito da aldeia durante o sexto dia/ de cerimônia do Trovão. Está acompanhado por dois jovens prontos a ampará-lo, se ele cair.

A young shaman, in a trance/ state, as he makes the village circuit during the/ sixth session of the Thunder Ceremony. He is accompanied by two young men ready to catch him if he should fall.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

148
291
342
●756
276
786
796

Fig. 3

Jovem noviço no xamanismo, usando o perigoso ornamento cerimonial de cabeça. Está doente por engulir fumaça de tabaco e próximo a um estado de transe. Caiu antes de alcançar a segunda casa do círculo.

Young novice shaman wearing the dangerous ceremonial headdress. He is ill from swallowing tobacco smoke and near to a trance state. He fell before reaching second house in the village circle.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

177
142
276
291
756●
301
786
796

Fig. 4

Outro jovem noviço no xamanismo, usando o perigoso ornamento cerimonial de cabeça. Também está doente por engulir fumaça de tabaco, e próximo a um estado de transe. Como o da fig. 3, caiu antes de alcançar a segunda casa do círculo.

Another young novice shaman wearing the dangerous ceremonial headdress. He is ill too from swallowing tobacco smoke and near to a trance state. Like the other of fig. 3 he fell before reaching second house in the village circle.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

291
302
756
786
796

Fig. 5

Kamairai (Veja Apêndice), um jovem pagé, vacilando na metade do circuito da aldeia.

Kamairai (see Appendix), a young shaman, staggering half way around the village circle.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

342
756
786
796

Fig. 6

De repente, ficou rígido e caiu para a frente, sendo agarrado pelos dois rapazes que o guiavam.

Suddenly he stiffened and fell forward caught by the young men who had been leading him.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

177
291
756
786
796

Fig. 7

O poderoso pajé Urukumú era seguido por numerosos jovens quando fez o circuito pela aldeia, usando o ornamento cerimonial de cabeça. Como decoração, usou um pedaço de fazenda vermelha, que lhe fôra presenteado pelo etnólogo.

The powerful shaman, Urukumu, was followed by numerous young men when he made the village circuit wearing the ceremonial headdress. He wore a piece of red cotton cloth given him by the ethnologist as decoration.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

142
342
756
786
796

Fig. 8

Êle era "forte", não necessitando de ajuda, porém, quando foi abatido pelos seres do Trovão, os jovens estavam próximos para ampará-lo na queda.

He was "strong" and did not need aid but when he was struck by the beings of Thunder, the young men were nearby to catch him when he fell.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

291
482
593
786
796
756

Fig. 9

Sempre que um pagé caia inconciente, os jovens que o acompanhavam lhe removiam ràpidamente o ornamento da cabeça e o levantavam nos ombros para carregá-lo através do circuito da aldeia. Nessa ocasião, a espôsa de Kamairalho estava preocupada com êle e veio apalpar-lhe a face.

Whenever a shaman fell unconscious, the young men accompanying him quickly removed the headdress and raised him upon their shoulders to carry him through the village circle. On this occasion, Kamairalho's wife was worried about him and came to feel of his face.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

342
417
482
756
796
786

Fig. 10

O corpo da maioria dos pagés ficava rigido, quando, em estado de inconciência, eram carregados pelo circuito da aldeia, de volta à casa em que se iniciara a cerimônia. Nesta fotografia, três rapazes carregam fàcilmente o corpo rigido de Panteri, um dos poderosos pagés, após, ter sido abatido pelos seres do Trovão.

The bodies of most shamans were rigid in their unconscious state as they were being carried through the village circle back to the first house. In this picture, three young men easily carry the rigid body of Panteri, one of the powerful shamans, after he had been stricken by the beings of Thunder.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

482
●756
796
786

Fig. 11

Os mesmos rapazes, carregando Panteri.

The same young men carrying Panteri.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

276
342
516
756
796

Fig. 12

Os dois pagés engolem fumaça de tabaco, preparando-se para a fase final da cerimônia do Trovão, em que livram o povo do perigo. A população da aldeia ainda não se reuniu. Cada homem tem o cachimbo na mão, e o jovem, à direita, está engolindo fumaça do cachimbo.

The two shamans swallowing tobacco smoke in preparation for the final phase of the Thunder ceremony when they rid the people of danger. The village populace has not yet gathered. Each man holds his pipe in his hand and the young man on the right is gulping smoke from his pipe.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

276
342
516
7560
796

Fig. 12

Os dois pagés engolem fumaça de tabaco, preparando-se para a fase final da cerimônia do Trovão, em que livram o povo do perigo. A população da aldeia ainda não se reuniu. Cada homem tem o cachimbo na mão, e o jovem, à direita, está engolindo fumaça do cachimbo.

The two shamans swallowing tobacco smoke in preparation for the final phase of the Thunder ceremony when they rid the people of danger. The village populace has not yet gathered. Each man holds his pipe in his hand and the young man on the right is gulping smoke from his pipe.

776 Some of these demons of the forest are now "pets" of the Tapirapé, and are no longer dangerous to them. The comparatively harmless *ančiŋga*, in a sense domesticated by Tapirapé men, come at intervals throughout the year to live in the large central men's house. While an [535] *ančiŋga* is inhabiting this ceremonial house, Tapirapé men sing and [530] dance with masks representing the visiting spirit (7).

756 Knowledge of the supernatural world is gained chiefly through the 787 dream experiences of shamans or *panče*, for among the Tapirapé shamanistic power derives from dreams and from powers revealed in them. [778] Dreams are believed to be journeys. The *iaŋgá*, the soul, may free itself [529] from the *etč*, the body, in sleep, and move freely in time and space. Obviously anyone may dream but frequent dreaming is evidence of shamanistic power. Laymen who dream very much are afraid, for they do not belong in this supernatural world, or they believe that they should become shamans.

Campukwi, who was not a shaman, indicated this fear in telling me his dream experience. When he saw dangerous *ančiŋga* in his dream, he had no recourse but to run: "I am not a shaman. I was afraid. I ran. They would have killed me". Only shamans have the supernatural power to move freely in this dream-world of ghosts and demons. A shaman is never afraid in his dream travels, for ghosts are his friends and the power of a shaman grows in proportion as he fraternizes with the demonic spirits of the forest. After a dream-visit from a shaman, breeds of demonic spirits may become his familiars, obedient to his calls for aid. Turning himself into a bird or launching himself through the air in his "canoe" a half gourd, he travels to the villages of ghosts, to the houses of demonic spirits, or to such temporal places as the Brazilian settlements or Carajá villages on the Araguaya River. Then, too, time is no obstacle: in a sleep of a few minutes he may experience three or four days of dream adventure.

756 The dream experiesce of Ikhaancowi, a powerful shaman who died 776 a few years before my visit, will illustrate these points. In his dream he 787 walked far to the shores of a large lake deep in the jungle. There he heard dogs barking and ran in the direction from which the noise came, until he met several forest spirits of the breed called *maŋpi aaká*. They

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[777] (7) The men's masked dance cult, kept as a secret from the women, is not [563] universally found among Tupi tribes. In this case it has obviously been borrowed from [777] the Tapirapé's neighbors, the Carajá.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

were tearing a bat out of a tree for food. These talked with Ikananeowi and invited him to return to their village, which was situated upon the lake. In the village he saw *periquitos* (Psittacidae) and many *socó* (*Butorides* sp.), birds which they keep as pets. The *ančánga* had several pots of *kaui* (8) and invited Ikananeowi to eat with them. He refused for he saw that their *kaui* was made from human blood. Ikananeowi watched one spirit drink of the *kaui* and saw him vomit blood immediately afterwards; the shaman saw a second spirit drink from another pot and immediately spurt blood from his anus. He saw the *munpi anká* vomit up their entrails and throw them upon the ground, but he soon saw that this was only a trick; they would not die, for they had more intestines. After this visit the *munpi anká* called Ikananeowi father and he called them his sons; he visited them in his dreams frequently and he had *munpi anká* near him always. When Ikananeowi danced and sang in the annual shamanistic ceremony against Thunder (see page 84), he painted his chest and chin red with *urucu*, representing the *kaui* of blood which drools from the mouths of the *munpi anká* after they vomit and he called these spirits to his aid in his songs. Other shamans have had familiar spirits but none have had such dangerous spirits as the *munpi anká*: "people were very much afraid of Ikananeowi, for these *ančánga* are very dangerous".

In another dream told to me a shaman met the forest spirits called *orêya*. These have long hair wound in a mass on top of their heads and they carry one arrow for the bows with which they kill men. The *orêya* were about to shoot the shaman, but when he shouted, "No, I am a shaman", they did not harm him. Instead they gave him food and helped him return through the deep forest to the village. Another shaman had *ančánga anú awa* as his familiars. These forest demons have protruding eyes and sharp pointed chins. They kill Tapirapé by grabbing them from behind as they walk unsuspectingly through the forest, clapping their hands over the victim's mouth and driving their pointed chins into the back of his neck. A man caught by one of these *ančánga* dies gurgling and staring, unable to speak; so, although found alive he may never explain what happened to him. A shaman with such dangerous familiars as these protects the laity by keeping his spirits under control.

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(8) *Kaui* is a thick soup-like drink prepared most usually from maize, sometimes from several kinds of manioc. It is never alcoholic among the Tapirapé.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

756 One powerful shaman may have several demonic familiars and his
776 responsibility and prestige grow with their numbers and strength. Panteri,
787 perhaps the most powerful shaman living in 1940, had several breeds of familiars garnered from his dreams. He was, of course, accustomed to visiting the villages of ghosts and frequently saw and talked with ghosts in his nightly dreams. He had visited the *anapi ancânga*, beings with huge penises with which they kill people by sodomy and by copulation. Panteri travelled once in his dreams over a high mountain ridge to the north of the Tapirapé country where he visited with the ghosts of the hostile Gê-speaking Kayapo. These enemy ghosts too became his familiars and he says that they will warn him if and when the living Kayapo plan to attack the Tapiripé. Again, in one of his dreams, Panteri travelled two days through a thick forest through which no paths led. Suddenly he found himself at the mouth of the Tapirapé River where it runs into the Araguaya. Inside a near-by hill he visited *anacâwa*, the large red parrot from which supernatural beings and the souls of dead shamans pluck their everlasting supply of red feathers for decoration (9).

[753] Panteri also visited the forest demons called *peropi awa*, who have the power to send fevers to the Tapirapé. About this visit to their "house" he related the following: "I saw many pets. They have periquitos, parrots, many pets... I had not seen them before. I saw there a paca. The paca was cold; it was shivering. The paca had fever [chills]. I knew that the Tapirapé would all have fever. I told many people that this would occur but there was nothing I could do about it". During his many dream travels Panteri has also visited Maratawa, the home of heroic ancestors and deceased shamans and he has looked down upon many Brazilian settlements on the Araguaya River.

756 There are certain of the shamans who are said to make frequent trips
787 to the sky in their "canoes" and to count powerful celestial phenomena
821 among their powers. The Milky Way was spoken of as the "Road of the *Panié*". Once when comparing his powers with those of another shaman, a shaman told me that he dreamed only on earth level and so was not so powerful as the other who frequently travelled in the sky. The other, he said, "had visited *é éco*, the Pleiades, and *kopia xawana*,

(9) Ancestor heroes. Thunder as a supernatural, and souls of dead shamans are always described as having a plentiful supply of red feathers — something that a living Tapirapé envies.

41 Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

821
the Jaguar of the Skies". When this shaman dies, it is thought that 756
many terrestrial jaguars, sent by the Jaguar of the Skies, will haunt the 787
confines of the village. I was told, too, that when the powerful shaman [825]
Wantanam died the "sun was large and red with the blood of the shaman"; it was "hot" and "angry" because a shaman had died.

SORCERY

The Tapirapé tell of great battles between strong shamans, each 754
supported by his own retinue of powers. During my stay with the Tapi- 787
rapé there were rumors of a possible combat between Urukumu and 756
Panteri, the two strongest shamans. Many people believed that it would be caused by the death of a warm personal friend of Panteri through the suspected sorcery by Urukumu. One man even described how the thought that the combat would take place. "Panteri will smoke [276]
much tobaco (10) and then he will go to his hammock to sleep. He will go [in his dream] in his "canoe" to the top of a high mountain. From there he will look about until he sees [the soul of] Urukumu. From there Panteri will throw his *ankungitána* (11); will wrap itself around [the soul of] Urukumu, carrying him off into the sky". Now the various familiar powers of both shamans hasten to their aid; it was at this point that the narrator, visualizing the possible battle of powers, listed the powers that would come to the aid of each shaman. A shaman whose soul has thus been captured by another falls prey to chills and fevers and soon dies, with his last breath whispering in song that he leaves the earth and possibly even telling gaspingly the name of the shaman who caused his death. Both shamans involved in the rumored combat denied knowledge or intention to wage it.

As might be expected, the same methods said to be used by shamans against one another may also be used against the layman. Shamans are believed to steal souls that are wandering in dream journeys. The shaman may send his *ankungitána* to strike the soul of his victim over

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(10) See page 72 for the use of tobacco in cures, as stimulants, to induce dreams, and for shamanistic ceremonies.

(11) The *ankungitána* is a ceremonial headdress made of three or four long [456
tail feathers of a parrot and worn by the Tapirapé down the back tied to the short 295]
"pig tail" hairdress (See Fig. 1 on page 41).

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754 787 756 the head or to tie it up and carry it off. The one whose soul is thus either incapacitated or imprisoned soon dies. A shaman may call upon his familiar demonic spirits of the forest to deal with a chosen victim or may in his dreams shoot a victim's spirit with small arrows causing at times death and at times only boils. Still another method of attack is for the shaman to throw a fishbone (*ipirá kunpa*) or gnawing worms (*mukka* or *kwai*) into his victim's body causing illness and death. [755] The treatment of illness consists of removing from the victim's body these malignant arrows, fishbones, and worms that are the cause of illness.

754 756 In illness and other misfortune, sorcery is always suspected by the Tapirapé and some shaman is accordingly always believed responsible. Sorcery, however, is believed to be the action of shamans in dreams, and although such a negative statement can obviously not be substantiated, it seems never to be consciously practised. But there [784] is, so far as the writer knows, no use of incantations or mechanical devices for the deliberate inducing of sympathetic magic.

683 761 756 [554] All Tapirapé are thought, however, to die by sorcery and at each death suspicion turns toward a shaman (12). At the death of a child or woman of low status, suspicion may arise and then soon die down but when the deceased is a man of status, his brothers, sons, or sisters' sons become violent in their grief and may murder the shaman toward whom suspicion points. Sometimes, after a long series of deaths, suspicion is fixed upon one famous and strong shaman and the Tapirapé decide informally that he must be killed. In such cases the revenge-murder occurs within the first few days after a death when the relatives are "sad" (13). If the first depression of mourning wears off without violence to the shaman, the anger toward him passes and he is out of danger. Thus, after a man of rather high status had died both Urukumu and Wantanamu, *pajés* of sufficient power to be suspected of causing his death, both left the village, ostensibly on fishing trips, staying away until the brothers of the deceased had calmed down again.

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[753] (12) Informants readily admitted that people may be infected by others, as in the case of the common cold, which they recognize as a disease from whites but it is believed that a person who has a cold slowly gets well if no sorcery is working against him. Death is caused only by sorcery.

[192 152] (13) A Tapirapé uses the word "*iwatiwaha*" to describe the condition of anger and sadness.

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The eight living men (*marántzunkaoera* or "killers") who had killed *pančés* attest to the frequency of revenge killing of shamans because of suspected sorcery. Within the memory of one informant, Kamairá, who was approximately forty years old, ten shamans had been killed (14). During his youth he had killed a shaman, *Pančewáni*, because he believed him responsible for his younger brother's death. Going to the shaman's house the second night after his brother's death, Kamairá found the shaman asleep and killed him with several arrows through the abdomen. According to various informants, the epidemic of deaths that had been occuring then came to a halt, thus proving *Pančewáni*'s guilt. In another case the killer hid in the forest and shot the suspected shaman as he passed on his way to his garden: still another shaman was clubbed to-death as he sat with his family in the village plaza. Two living "killers" had murdered women shamans by clubbing them to death. *Kučamančé* (*kučan*, woman; *pančé*, shaman) generally die by violence, according to informants; women shamans "are dangerous". They dream more than men [shamans] and they kill many Tapirapé [in dreams]", said one man. Ironically, all three of the more powerful shamans living today, at least two of whom are currently in danger because they are considered powerful enough to be suspected of "evil dreaming", murdered shamans during their youth (15).

Informants could not remember any one occasion when a shaman thus murdered was avenged by his relatives; yet informants did say that a shaman with several adult brothers — true siblings — strong enough

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(14) The span of this man's life has seen the tremendous depopulation of the Tapirapé from imported diseases; thus it represents an abnormal period with more than the usual number of deaths and perhaps, therefore, an unusual number of revenge murders of shamans.

(15) As I write this paper, a letter comes from Valentim Gomes, my guide, and companion during both trips to the Tapirapé. I quote in part this letter translated from Portuguese: "I report that I was in the village of the Tapirape on the twenty-sixth of July [1941]. They were all in good health and there were plenty of garden products such as manioc, yams, peanuts, etc. — There were few hammocks.

"But I am sorry to say that after we left them [in May, 1940] twenty-nine adults and a few children have died. Fifteen women and fourteen men died. Among those who died was Campukwi, the best informant in the village. Also Urukumu had been killed by the young Tapirapé I called Antonio". (During my stay the Tapirapé had several times spoken of the necessity of liquidating Urukumu and several had predicted that it would occur).

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683 to avenge him, is generally not murdered (16). A strong shaman makes
[573] an effort to have a strong family group about him for protection. Informants
[256] could not remember that murdered shamans had ever been revenged by their familiar spirits, although one man made the point that shamans were murdered only by persons under the influence of great anger or grief, for people normally are afraid of the familiars of shamans.
683 Special rites are observed by anyone who has murdered a shaman, to
783 protect him and the rest of the tribe against possible danger. On the day following the murder the *marántxunkanéra* must retire to his hammock and here eat of a white clay, *iwí činga*, and drink until he vomits of a brew made of boiling a man's leg ornament in water. Vomiting cleanses
[327] his body "of the blood of the shaman". The killer must paint his entire
[30] body black with *genipa* (*Genipa americana*) and put red urucu paint in his hair; he should also scratch his chest, arms, thighs, and back
[581] with teeth of the dog fish, just as he did in the ceremony he had performed as a young boy to make himself a strong adult. Then, each year at the annual ceremony during the harvests in May and June, all who have killed shamans must drink of *kauió* (17) until they vomit, so cleansing themselves of the shaman's blood for the period until the next harvest.

DUTIES OF THE SHAMAN

276 Among the Tapirapé tobacco is a sacred plant necessary for curing and for all shamanistic activities; yet, while it is found widely near Tapirapé village and near their gardens, it is not strictly a cultivated plant. People know where a patch of tobacco grows and go there to pick it. Occasionally they transplant tobacco nearer to their houses or to their gardens but for the most part the patches seed themselves. When an

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[573 521] (16) When I left the Tapirapé in May, 1940, a grudge existed between two men of high status because of the murder of a shaman. Kamairabo disliked, avoided, and criticized Kamairé because he had killed Kaulkwaú, Kamairabo's wife's father. The antagonism was never overt. When they met they treated each other formally and calmly. Other Tapirapé told me that Kamairabo's wife continually gossiped about the behavior of Kamairé's wife, "because her husband had killed Kamairabo's father".

[372 276] (17) A brew made of a few grains of maize and much water. It is believed to be poisonous.

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755 In the midst of this process he stops several times to suck on the body of his patient and finally, with one awful heave, he spews all the accumulated material on the ground. He then searches in this mess for the intrusive object that has been causing the illness. Never once did I see a shaman show the intrusive object to observers. As one treatment a Tapirapé *pancé* usually repeats this process of "eating smoke", sucking, and vomiting several times. Sometimes, when a man of prestige is ill, two or even three shamans will cure side by side in this manner and the noise of violent vomiting resounds throughout the village.

One other method of curing was observed. During an epidemic of fever Panteri made a collective cure to drive fever out of the village and disinfect the people of the village against it. Two men were dispatched to collect wild honey; this was then mixed with water, making a weak honey mixture. Panteri, after first smoking for a time, went from house to house taking the honey mixture in his mouth and spraying it over the house and its occupants. He carefully sprayed and massaged the patients who had fever and removed the foreign substance from their bodies. For several hours he worked, spraying both the inside and outside of the houses, including the central ceremonial house of the men. It was explained that the honey alone did not have a therapeutic effect against fever but sprayed from the mouth of a *pancé* it drove away fevers.

755 795 828 Shamans also protect the Tapirapé against ghosts. All people who see ghosts faint from fright or from the white substance with which the ghost covers their body. Shamans were called to blow smoke over them and to massage this substance from their bodies. During one funeral dance the shaman Panteri "saw many ghosts" in the environs of the village, recognizing some as long-dead relatives of the deceased. By blowing tobacco smoke about and by going among the ghosts with a large mirror he drove them away before they did any harm.

756 842 82 Shamans are necessary in several other life situations other than illness. For instance, shamans are thought among the Tapirapé to control the pregnancy of women. While pregnancy is known to be related to sexual intercourse, conception is thought to take place only when a shaman "brings a child to a woman". Several species of birds,

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of fish, of insects, and several natural phenomena, especially thunder. 756
have children: that is, they are thought to control "spirits of chil- 82
dren" (20). A shaman steals or more simply, takes spirits of children 842
from these sources and brings them to a woman while she sleeps. Parents who wish children can bring presents to a *pancé* to "make him dream and bring a child to them". Most Tapirapé parents can identify the source of their children and the shaman who brought them. One father explained that he had taken honey to the *pancé* Urukumu, making him dream, and that Urukumu had then traveled to the house of Thunder and brought back a child to his wife. Another gave a present of fish to a shaman who brought back a child from the small fish called piau (*Leporinus* sp.); and yet another gave honey to a *pancé* who brought back a child from the horsefly (Tabanidae).

To the Tapirapé all good and likewise all evil can be laid at the 756
door of the shaman. Consequently a phenomenon such as barrenness is 842
always the fault of the shaman. A barren woman or a man with no children by his wife must have "quarrelled much with the *pancé*". For example, it was clear to Kamairaho that his failure to have children by the three wives with whom he had lived during his lifetime was due to the shaman: "They do not want me to have a child", he said. He had no suspicion concerning his own sterility, even though his present and third wife had had a daughter by her first husband: for [837]
according to Tapirapé belief, all men who have sexual relations with a woman during her pregnancy are biological fathers of child, and Kamairaho was in this manner the "father" of several children.

The safety of Tapirapé men depends upon the power of their shaman 225
during the period each October and November when they must swim 756
while they fish and shoot turtles: for in this region of Brazil rivers are 481
infested with alligators, sting rays (*Potamotrygon histrix*), and the 825
carnivorous fish called piranha (Serrasalminae). The Tapirapé also believe that large snakes lurk in deep pools of the rivers ready to wrap themselves around men and pull them beneath the water. During the year men will not swim in deep water unless it is absolutely necessary

(20) Thunder, night, monkeys, wild pigs, jacú (*Penelope* sp.), jakawi (*Pauxis* sp.), fish so called tukunare (*Cichla ocellaris*), pacú (*Myletes* sp.), and piranha (*Pygocentrus*), and jakaré (*Procilodus* sp.), were listed as sources of "spirits of children".

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225 +91 756 825 and they will fish only in shallow clear rapids. When they must swim to catch turtles, a shaman guarantees their safety. A powerful shaman dreams. He travels to the river, ties he jaws of the alligators with wires, strikes the *piranha* across their teeth so they cannot bite, and ties up the large snakes into knots with their own tails.

756 825 The abundance of the food supply may also become the responsibility of the shaman. Some powerful shamans have the ability to control the movements and the increase of the bands of pigs. These [789] shamans visit in their dreams the "home of wild pigs" near the Tapi- [103] rapé River on a hill called by them *Towaiyawá* — Ringed tail of the coati (*Nasua* sp.). There the shaman has sexual intercourse with female pigs, causing large increase in the bands. Those pigs that run fastest and are hardest to kill are these "children of the *pancé*". The [776] shaman's control over the movement of bands of pigs comes through his control over the *ancánga* called *anpukáya* — "crying spirits". Wild pigs are said to be "pets" of these spirits and follow them about. [224] Shamans who are powerful enough capture these spirits and take them, followed by their pets, to an appointed place where Tapirapé men wait to kill the pigs. None of the living shamans was believed to be capable of these controls over the wild pigs and several of the Indians blamed the recent lack of success of hunting expeditions and the apparent scarcity of pigs on the declining power of the shamans.

756 787 The dream journeys of the shamans also give them the power of prophecy, as was indicated by Panteri's vision of the fever in the village of the *peropi dwa*. Such dream experiences are not limited to the demonic world but sometimes occur in other earthly regions. The shaman may visit Carajá villages or Brazilian settlements along the Araguaya, where he sometimes learns facts of great interest or importance to his fellow-tribesmen. When Panteri visited the Brazilian settlements along the Araguaya River for the first time, he said that he recognized faces that he saw for he had been to these places many times in his dream. When I returned to the Tapirapé village after three months' absence, one shaman claimed to have prophecied my arrival to the day. He had traveled in his dream, he said, to the Araguaya River and had seen my canoe moving up the Tapirapé River. Another in the same way foresaw the arrival of a young Tapirapé who was returning from se-

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veral weeks on the Araguaya. Frequently shamans, through their dreams, learn and then tell the Tapirapé where large bands of wild pigs can be found and advise them how to approach the band (21).

The cleansing of food may be accomplished by the shaman by tasting it or by blowing smoke or his breath over it. Several times each year these rites are performed over the first fruits of harvests to insure their safety before the people taste the crop. In December the first ears of the new maize are picked and presented to a strong shaman who then gives them to his wife to cook. At sundown of the day on which this is done the shaman walks to the central plaza followed by his wife, who carries the cooked maize and places it in a pile before him, ready for the ceremonies that will follow. In 1939, Panteri was the shaman who initiated this ceremony and he was joined by five other proved shamans. The people of the village gathered about this group of shamans who sat in a circle facing the maize. One by one the shamans took deep draughts from their burning pipes and blew the smoke over the maize. Then, one by one again, each pinched off a few grains from an ear and ate them. When the last had tasted the new maize, the ceremony was ended. The youngsters of the village then fell upon the pile of maize; the crop had been tasted by the shamans and found free from danger for the people. The next day maize was eaten in all houses.

A similar ceremony is performed in August or September with the first wild honey of the season, and again about January or February when new corn is ground to make the thick beverage kaui. I did not hear of such "tasting of first fruits" by shamans for other garden crops and informants were unable to remember any one occasion when shamans had found new maize or honey too dangerous for consumption by the people.

Again, each year in the first months of the rainy season when the new crop of maize is threatened by the first heavy rains and electrical storms, Tapirapé shamans must "fight" against Thunder and his ma-

(21) Many such prophecies are found wanting, and several times I heard people speak of a shaman's prophecy as a "lie". Often prophecies are only made known to people after events have proved them true.

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nions in order to protect the gardens and even the people themselves from his violence. This four-day ceremony is the culmination of shamanistic activity among the Tapirapé and its most exotic and violent manifestation (22).

SOCIAL POSITION OF THE SHAMAN

The Tapirapé do not have chieftains with highly centralized authority. Instead one finds among them respected individuals who are described modernly by the Tapirapé with the Portuguese term "capitão". Such men of great prestige have in every instance gained the respect of their fellow tribesmen in one or more — usually at least two — of three ways.

First, an individual may be singled out by his parents, who must themselves be people of some prestige for especial treatment as a *čiríka-kánta*, a favored child (23). Parents bestow upon such a child a series of important names which in themselves carry respect and he is taught with special care the myths, songs, dances, and manual techniques of the tribe. His parents may wait upon him, bringing him water to drink and to wash himself with and preparing special foods for him. Special care is taken in oiling and painting his body and elaborate decorations are made for him to wear during the annual harvest ceremonies, for the *čirikakánta* are the central figures in part of this ceremony. Again, his body decorations are more elaborate than those of an ordinary youth when he dances during the ceremony of reaching maturity (24).

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(22) See page 84 for a detailed treatment of Thunder as a supernatural and of the Thunder Ceremony.

(23) I use the masculine pronoun, for most *čirikakánta* are boys, although girls have been selected for this special treatment within the memory of my informants. Usually there are two such "favored children" in the village, one from each moiety.

(24) On this subject of chiefdomship, I again disagree with Baldus. He reports a "chefe principal" and a "vice-chefe". He considers such offices hereditary, the oldest son of the chief becoming chief and the next oldest becoming vice-chief (*op. cit.*, page 81). But I believe the impression of primogeniture was created only by the fact that important names and the position of *čirikakánta* were generally passed on by parents to their oldest child and the parents of outstanding importance

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Secondly, an individual may gain respect through being chosen as a leader of the warrior-age group of his ceremonial moiety. His companions may select him as their "walking leader" — *antá áwa* — or as their "song leader" — *amoníká áwa* — because of his special abilities in hunting, gardening, manual technique, singing, or dancing. It frequently happens that these chosen leaders were *ciríkakántu* when they were children, for the special treatment and educational advantages given such children develop qualities of leadership. 554 561 622 [858]

The third and most important road to prestige lies in shamanism. It has been shown that the Tapirapé depend upon their shamans to control the dangerous spirit world, to remove danger from first fruits, to predict the future, to bring spirits of children to their parents, and to cure the ill. In all life situations where chance or the unpredictable figure the Tapirapé depend markedly upon their shamans. Thus the greatest prestige which Tapirapé culture offers accrues to the shaman (25). This prestige is reflected in the concepts of a separate afterlife for shamans and in the identification of ancestral culture heroes as shamans. Informants telling of Petura, the bringer of such phenomena as fire and daylight to the Tapirapé, and of Ware, who killed so many dangerous *aciánga*, frequently referred to them as "great shamans". While a Tapirapé layman becomes a disembodied soul at death, the afterlife of a shaman is but a continuation of his present life under ideal circumstances. His soul goes to Maratawa (26), the home of the culture heroes. This home of the privileged dead lies far to the north- 555 622 756 775 [773]

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were the ones who generally produced *ciríkakántu*. The man whom Baldus reported as "chefe principal" carried an important name, had been a favored child, had been a "song-leader" of his work, and was currently a shaman of some power, and I believe held his position because of these things and had not inherited it. Wantuntuntu, whom Baldus mentions as "vice-chefe", had also before his death in 1940, been a shaman and a "walking leader". [114]

(25) The unusual importance of the shaman to the Tapirapé was well put by one of my informants: "Without our *pawé*, all we Tapirapé die".

(26) If a shaman meets death by murder, his trip to Maratawa is delayed. He goes temporarily to another "home of shamans" in the west until his wounds are healed; only then does he go to Maratawa. If his skull has been crushed by a club, a new cranium of metal is made for him at this temporary residence. A "metal" cranium is obviously an introduced concept yet informants were not able to explain of what material the new cranium might have been made before metal was known to the Tapirapé.

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555 622 756 775 [766] west "where the earth ends and the water begins" and where the sun returns to sleep after its travels across the sky. In Maratawa shamans have an inexhaustible supply of tobacco, many red parrot feathers, much manioc kauí, bananas, meat, and all the other necessities and luxuries of life. Frequently a shaman is buried with a pipe filled with tobacco in his mouth, so that he may have smoke to drive out fatigue on the trip to Maratawa; and sometimes food is buried with the body so he may eat, for the journey to Maratawa is long.

556 756 Aside from these non-material considerations, there is one very real factor which insures social respect to the Tapirapé shaman. Shamans are in general the wealthiest men among the Tapirapé. Although they may at times receive meat or honey for their cures or as presents for bringing the spirits of children to parents, payments to them are usually in those luxury goods that are the marks of wealth. It was readily observed that the beads and hardware which I gave as presents to the Tapirapé soon passed into the hands of shamans as payments for cures.

756 Payments to the shamans for curing the ill depend upon the seriousness of the illness and upon what the patient or his family has to offer. Frequently a shaman names his fee when his cure has been successful, asking for specific objects, for he knows full well what each family owns. Unsuccessful cures are never paid. For example, for the treatment of his sister's son and of his daughter, who were both sick at once, Kamairaho, a shaman himself, called three shamans and paid each the price that he asked. He paid one, Panteri, a machete and two strings of beads; to another, Urukumu, he gave an axe, a pocket knife, a pair of scissors, and five tail feathers of a red parrot; he gave only four strings of beads to Kamairai, who was considered a shaman of less power than the other two. Another young man with few possessions gave five arrows to a shaman who successfully treated his wife; still another paid the breast feathers from his parrot and four string of [262] beads to a shaman. When Tazwaniuma killed a *paca*, the meat of [224] which is highly prized by the Tapirapé, he gave some to his companion of the hunt and divided the rest between two shamans who had treated his small daughter successfully. Neither shaman had to ask for any specific gift or payment. People often complain to others about the [97] high price they had to pay to a shaman, but generally they pay what is

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asked. "Stinginess" is a severe accusation among these people and to complain mildly about a high price is one way of announcing one's liberality.

Liberality is a necessary quality for a man of prestige. At the time of the annual harvest ceremonies, shamans and all other men of prestige must give gifts to all those who drink of *kauió* (27). Gift giving at this time proves their liberality and validates their prestige. At this time then there is a siphoning off of wealth from the shamans, but throughout the rest of the year fees and gifts channel it back into their hands.

ROAD TO SHAMANISM

Among the Tapirapé, *pancés* are essentially those people who dream much and who, in their dreams, travel widely in the supernatural world, achieving familiarity with the supernatural. At the time of my visit there were six men recognized as fullfledged shamans who were called upon to treat the sick and to perform various ceremonials. Panteri and Urukumu, were the two clearly outstanding; these assumed leadership in shamanistic ceremonies and were the ones most frequently called for cures. Besides these six recognized shamans, there were four young men working to develop shamanistic power to gain recognition as shamans.

Within the memory of persons living in the village there had been three women shamans, but there were none, either practicing as recognised shamans or working as novices, during my visit. The women shamans were remembered as having been especially malevolent. They are supposed to dream more than the men and work much harm to the people. People who recalled the women shamans explained that when they had sung in the annual ceremony of calling and fighting Thunder they had sung the part of the music usually sung by the shamans' wives and their husbands had sung the usual men shamans' parts. The women *pancés* had smoked and fallen in trances as the male shamans do. Nothing possible to men shamans appeared to be beyond the power of the women. None of them was described as masculine in behavior;

(27) See footnote 17 on p. 73.

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on the contrary, they were described as "good wives", and one of them was remembered as small and particularly attractive.

Certain people regardless of sex are early recognized as future shamans because of their natural inclination to dream. Several informants, for example, told me that a young boy, an orphan, and therefore badly cared for, would certainly be a powerful shaman. He turned and talked in his sleep and had been known to cry during a nightmare. He remembered few of his dreams but did tell of seeing the spirit of his mother, and described an evil spirit which he met during a dream. One of the present powerful shamans is said to have been such a youngster with a predilection for dreaming. Such youngsters are nervous and sensitive: yet no distinct personality traits were observed among adult shamans. Shamans are frequently emaciated and thin, attributable perhaps to their constant use of tobacco and the resulting nausea, and one shaman, now dead, was described by informants as a nervous ascetic interested only in the supernatural world.

Persons lacking this predilection for dreaming, but with aspirations to shamanism, may solicit dreams. Each year during the days of the dry season all young men who aspire to shamanism, even those who have shown potentialities during boyhood, gather each evening in the central plaza of the village to seek dreams. A novice sits upon the ground near a *paxiú*, his mentor, and swallows smoke from his mentor's pipe until violent vomiting occurs. When the novices are too ill to hold the pipe, the shaman holds it for them, forcing them to continue "eating smoke". Generally the neophites fall backwards unconscious and ill from the smoke: during this state they may dream. In any case, when they regain their senses, the pipe is again placed in their mouth until they fall backwards ill and unconscious once more. The process may be repeated several times over a period of two or three hours. Later, when the novice retires to his hammock for the night, he may expect a dream.

Such sessions occur each night during the few weeks before the Thunder ceremony and a serious novice should attend all sessions. During this period he refrains from sexual intercourse because it will hinder his dreaming: he also refrains from bathing and so becomes grimey. He must not eat of those animals which "walk at night", such as the jaboti tortoise (*Testudo tabulata*) and the monkey, because he must be friendly with all creatures he may meet in his nocturnal dream travels. He should eat manioc flour, yams, pepper, and such bland

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meats as jacu, coati (*Nasua* sp.), peccary, mutum (*Crax* sp.), and chicken: of other foods he must eat sparingly or not at all. The novices are "tired" and "thin"; many do not continue after the first few nights because they "are lazy" or because "they are afraid". Campukwi, my informant, did not continue because he did not like the diet, the nausea from tobacco, the lack of food, and the sexual continence. 756 [262]

Other novices, more successful and more persistent, do dream. At first they see smoky forms of ghosts and sometimes forest demons: they as yet do not know how to talk with such spirits. Usually, the first season or two during which a young man seeks dreams, he may expect mild dreams. After several seasons the novice may see dangerous forest demons in his unconscious states and he may talk with ghosts. Traditionally, young Tapirapé shamans become wild and uncontrollable when they have their first dangerous dreams. They are reported sometimes to stand up suddenly from their induced unconscious state and run wildly through the village, sometimes killing chickens, dogs, and parrots, or breaking pottery. Although no novices "ran" in this way during the 1940 training period, an informant described the state of a young shaman who "ran" several years ago. "He jumped up." He shouted and ran through the village. He carried a club in his hand (usually weapons are placed well out of reach). He killed two chickens and broke through the side of a house. He killed his brother's dog. All the women and children ran from the village, afraid. Finally, Maeumi grabbed him but he was strong and he hit Maeumi with a club and blood ran down Maeumi's face. Many men came and held him and Urukumu (his mentor) blew smoke over him", thus bringing him back to his senses. He had seen dangerous spirits and "was afraid", informants told me. This reaction is common for those who show potentialities toward shamanism. 756 757

The mere fact that young shaman has several dangerous dreams does not make him a powed shaman. He must take part in the "fight" against the beings of Thunder, and by the side of his mentor he may attempt cures. If successful, he may be called now and again by people for cures. With a reputation for several cures and with continual dreaming, during which he has supernatural encounters, he builds up his reputation as a shaman over a period of many years. Panteri and Urukumu were about fifty years old when I visited them: informants gave no indication that their power was expected to decline with old age. 756 [886]

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THE THUNDER CEREMONY

In common with many Tupi peoples the Tapirapé consider thunder as a powerful supernatural. He is called *Kanawana* by the Tapirapé. Kanawana lives in his house at Maratawa surrounded by his various supernumeraries. He has with him the souls of deceased Tapirapé shamans (*pancé-iánwera*), messengers called *awampewa* that carry news to these *pancé iánwera*, and finally, *topi* (28).

Topi are described as small anthropomorphic beings about the size of a man's hand. Their bodies are covered with downy white hair, and they wear European beads, little headdresses of parrot feathers, and lip plugs. They travel with great swiftness through the air small "canoes", which are only halves of gourds, and they carry with them red feathers and beads to use as arrows to shoot at Tapirapé. Sometimes *topi* are referred to as "pets" of Thunder and sometimes as his children: but in any case, they are many and do his bidding.

Each year in approximately late December and January, when there are heavy thunder showers, lightning, and strong winds, the Tapirapé believe that Thunder is angry. The noise of the storm is the rumbling of his *topi's* canoes and the lightning is their speeding arrows. Once, when a strong wind ripped off part of the roof of a house, Tapirapé men were frightened because they knew that *pancé-iánwera* sent by Thunder had caused the wind. At this time each year shamans "call Thunder" and match their powers against him. In frenzied intoxication from gulping tobacco smoke, constant singing and dancing, they fall into trances during which they travel to the house of Thunder. Shamans and the courageous laymen who take part in this ceremony are struck down by *topi's* arrows and fall writhing upon the ground. Violent behavior is the keynote of these ceremonies against Thunder and his beings.

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(28) *Topi* is obviously the Tapirapé equivalent of *Tupan*, the word recorded as used by the Tupinambá and other coastal Tupi. Among the coastal Tupi *Tupan* was the supernatural being who made the thunder and lightning. Tupan was so important that the early Catholic missionaries used the word for God. See Alfred Metraux's, 1928, *La Religion des Tupinambá*, pages 53-56, Paris. Note, however, that among the Tapirapé *topi* are merely creatures of Thunder.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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that same evening the men danced single file over the circuit, starting from the large house where the principal ceremonies had been held. As they danced, they sang that Thunder had gone and all was safe again (31).

During the four-day period of the combat against Thunder and his creatures sexual intercourse had been taboo; but on the night after Thunder leaves "all Tapirapé will have intercourse with their wives and many women will become pregnant". Traditionally, women are freer with their favours for a few days after this ceremony. People, however, sometimes break the taboo against sexual intercourse during the period of Thunder's visit and so bring trouble on themselves and their tribe. Pasteri reported: "I was weak when I returned from Thunder's house. Many mosquitos drank my blood on the road. This was because Tapirapé men were with their wives. I dreamed that night and saw many Tapirapé having intercourse and knew that Tapirapé would be bitten by many mosquitos when they called Thunder".

CONCLUSIONS

It is apparent that in studying Tapirapé shamanism we are concerned with patterns which are part of a deep-seated New World shamanistic complex found widespread in both North and South America — from the Eskimo to the Ona and Yahgan of Tierra del Fuego. Among the Tupi-guarani peoples, however, shamanism has been an unusual factor in their cultural history. Dr. Alfred Métraux has shown that the numerous and distant migrations of Tupi-Guarani tribes in post-Columbian times were frequently instigated my powerful shamans (32).

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(31) During this serpent dance, one may steal all cans which are hanging from rafters in the houses through which they pass. Youngsters did steal some cans and women ran after them trying to get it back. There was now much gaiety and laughter.

(32) "Seules la vénération et l'autorité dont ces magiciens bienfaiteurs, peuvent expliquer la facilité avec laquelle des tribus entières ont consenti à abandonner leurs villages et leur territoire à la recherche d'un pays paraissant fabuleux" (in Alfred Métraux, 1931, "Les hommes-dieux chez les Chiriguano et dans l'Amérique du Sud", *in Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán*. T. II, p. 66).

See also the same author's: 1927, "Les migrations historiques des Tupy-Guarany" *in Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*. Nouvelle Série. T. XIX.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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171 In another study, Dr. Métraux emphasizes the extraordinary powers of
● 756 the Tupinambá shamans and states that among the coastal Tupi of Brazil shamans at times held "great secular powers (33). Senhor Curt Nimuendaju writes that the basic organization of the Apapocúva-Guarani, before European contact, was the voluntary subordination to their shaman-chiefs and points out that the failure to recognize their power was the cause of repeated failures to unite the Guarani in "aldeamentos" (34). My own recent work among the Tupi-speaking Guajajara of the Rio Pindaré of Northeastern Brazil leads me to the opinion that, especially before European administrators gave them secular chiefs, Guajajara shamans exercised such strong religious and social controls over their people. The emphasis upon the role of the shaman in Tapirapé culture shows, therefore, a marked affinity with other Tupi-Guarani peoples.

APPENDIX

756 A few added examples of individual overt reactions of persons during the Thunder ceremony may clarify and illustrate several points of the ceremony I have summarized below several from my field notebooks.

Case of Kamairaho

Kamairaho is a man of great prestige and has been a *pawlé* for many years, although never a strong one. He says, "I have never seen many dangerous *anšiega*: I dream and travel only on (the level of) the earth", explaining that he does not travel through the sky in this
756 dreams as do Ppáiprè and Urukumu. Kamairaho did not take part in
781 the Thunder ceremony for the first two days, explaining that he was
796 afraid; he said he was too old and too weak to meet the dangerous *tupi*. On the third day, however, he took part in the day phase, against the protestations of his wife who cried in fear for him. Each time he made the village circuit wearing the headdress of red parrot feathers, he fell hard and without completing his circuit. Once after a seizure and a hard

(33) Alfred Métraux. 1928. "La Religion des Tupinambá, et ses rapports avec celle des autres tribus Tupy-Guarany", p. 82. Paris.

(34) Curt Nimuendajú. 1914. "Die Sagen von der Entstehung und Vernichtung der Welt als Grundlagen der Religion der Apapocúva-Guarany", *in Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, T. 46, pp. 337-338. Berlin.

(35) Charles Wagley. 1943. "Notas sôbre acculturação entre os Guajajara" (portuguese translation from the unpublished original Brief notes on acculturation among the Guajajara) in *Boletim do Museu Nacional* (Rio de Janeiro), Nova Série, Antropologia N. 2.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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fall, he struggled to his feet and tried to run. The young men who followed him seized him. Informants explained that in such a state he might have run wildly through the village, breaking property and causing bodily harm to others, in the same way that young novice shamans "run". Afterwards Kamairaho told me that he would never again take part in this ceremony because Thunder might trap his soul during a visit to Thunder's house and cause his death. 756 781 796 [761]

Case of Panĉri

Panĉri is a young shaman who has been treating the sick for several years. He took part in all the ceremonies during the first two days. During the sundown phase of the third day, he touched the headdress, then being carried by Urukumu, screamed, fell backwards, and in falling, broke open his scalp against one of the house poles. Upon regaining consciousness an hour or so later, he said that he remembered nothing. All that he knew, he explained, was that he returned from a dreamtrip covered with blood.

Case of Anawani

Anawani is a layman, notably the laziest of the village and thus unmarried. He took part in only one sundown phase of the Thunder ceremony, openly admitting that he was afraid to continue. During that one session Anawani caught hold of Panĉri several times as he moved back and forth with the group. Each time that he did this he fell at once to the ground, screaming. It was explained that to touch a powerful *panĉ* during the process of the ceremony is dangerous: for the shaman attracts the arrows of *topi*. [561. 589]

Case of Kanacipá

Kanacipá is a novice and is considered a potentially powerful shaman. He vomited violently during each phase of the ceremony and during the sundown phases he staggered about bumping into house poles. When he was pressed by a group, he invariably fell to the ground. Several other men were seized thus when pressed by a group. During one of the sessions of the ceremony, it took about a half hour to bring Kanacipá out of this seizure. His wife began the crying chant characteristic of funerals while Urukumu massaged and fumigated him. She cried out that he was dead several times before she saw him returning to consciousness. [764 583]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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Case of *Ipawungi*

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Ipawungi, a young man of about twenty years of age, is a novice to shamanism. During one of his dreams, stimulated by "eating smoke" he saw *ančénga* but was unable to identify which ones they were. During the Thunder ceremony, however, he decorated his body as did the *ančénga* he had seen in his dream. He painted a cross with *urucu* on his chest and wore feathers of the white vulture (*urubú-rei* — *Sarcoramphus papa*) down the sides of his arms. As a protective measure he carried a mirror with him during all ceremonies for, like ghosts of the dead, the beings of Thunder are frightened if they see their own image in a mirror. During one sundown session Ipawungi fell crying wildly, and scratching his body frantically from head to foot, as if the itching were unbearable, letting out blood-curdling screams. This behavior was seen several times during the ceremony in other persons. The itching, informants told me, comes from many invisible fleas which jump from any dog on to the body of a person participating in the ceremony. Dogs, therefore, are securely tied to house posts or to trees at the edge of the village during the four days of the Thunder ceremony but they, of course, escape now and again.

[302] [751] [827] [231]

Case of *Cámpukwi*

Campukwi, a young man of about twenty-four years of age, says that he does not want to be a shaman because "Tapirapé have killed many shamans". He took part rather casually in several of the phases of the ceremony: he "ate smoke" and moved about with the group in the evening session when the creatures of Thunder were being called. At the end of the session, when the powerful shamans saw "many *tupí*", he fell, struck down with the rest of the group. Campukwi's wife was not present but his sister came to his side to help him. She looked at him carefully and laughingly said that he was faking. She kicked him and left him instead of helping him to the sidelines. Campukwi stood up, laughed, and left the group.

Now and again through the ceremonies spectators made such observations concerning participants whose reactions seemed doubtful. Some participants did now and again pretend and people laughed at them. It was all taken in a spirit of fun.

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

Fear was present in the formalization of quarrels full of hatred, a formalization which obliged the opponents to avoid direct contact. They had to remain hidden from one another and not interrupt the speech of their antagonist, but only reply when he had finished. One such quarrel began in the afternoon of June 27, 1935. Kamairabé lay in his hammock with open eyes and didn't answer when several people called him. Maninabé, the eldest man of the neighbouring house, begins to pronounce insults. He stays inside his house. The entrances of the houses are so arranged that it is impossible to look from the interior of one house into the interior of another.[4] Kamairabé's wife stays outside between the two houses without looking towards either of them. She faces the men's house in the centre of the village and replies to Maninabé with extraordinary gravity, in a level voice and with calm gestures. They are discussing a question of shamanism. Maninabé seems to be doing the provoking. The other persons present continue with their habitual activities, neither laughing nor speaking. After a while Maninabé's aggressiveness seems to increase. Kamairabé's wife joins her husband and the eldest man of her house places himself close to the entrance but inside, holding a club and railing violently in a loud and monotonous voice. When he finishes, profound silence rules for some moments. Then the other replies in the same tone. Never does one interrupt the other. This rule is also observed when two Tapirapé women have a quarrel as well as among other South American tribes.[5] The quarrel between the two men, one always hidden from the other, lasted until sunset. Late that night the old man of Kamairabé's house, where I was also living, asked me for my electric torch and went with his wife for water by a very roundabout way in order to avoid the proximity of Maninabé's house. These precautionary measures—the lamp, the company of his wife, and the detour—reveal clearly the fear he had of the adversary. Supposing then that fear has contributed to create the institution of formalized quarrels we may consider it a factor of socialization. But is it only a tribal behaviour pattern or also fear that causes the victim of theft to abstain from any exteriorized reaction? Frequently I observed that the theft of some thing obtained from the white men, for instance a necklace of glass beads, was known immediately in the whole village; the victim, however, suffers in silence without any demonstration and doesn't attempt any revenge.

As an institution which is essentially a product of fear appears that of the shamans. Nonexistent in certain South American tribes and little developed in others, it is so important to the Tapirapé that they informed me of certain local groups having renounced their independence and joined the inhabitants of another village because there were no more shamans among them.[6] This becomes credible when one considers Charles Wagley's[7] quotation of one of his informants' words: "Without our pauté, all we Tapirapé die." According to the same author,[8] "the greatest prestige which Tapirapé culture offers accrues to the shaman." This means that the first place in Tapirapé society belongs to the person who defends the community against the ever terrible dangers of the supernatural world. It is collective fear which gives him this status. But the easy and continuous contact with the forces of destruction makes the shaman for his part also a man to be feared, and consequently exposes him to other dangers, to dangers which we would not call supernatural. When cases of death occur in the village, and especially several in a short time, it is usual to attribute the cause to a shaman and therefore many shamans are murdered. Then it is also collective fear which, in such cases, moves a Tapirapé to defend the community

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

against the supposed menace and to kill the shaman who is suspected of having become an evil sorcerer.

Though, also as regards the institution of shamanism, fear works out as a factor of socialization by exorcising the dangers to the tribal life, we cannot say the same about the fear which produces in many Tapirapé a disposition to adapt themselves complacently to the white man. During my stay in 1935, in the village called Tampiitawa, I could distinguish clearly between the great group of timorous people led by Kamairahó who received with open arms all that came from our civilization, and a smaller group composed of decided and valorous people who didn't want anything to do with us. So there were two opposite trends in their "foreign policy" and consequently germs of tribal disintegration.

Of the direct causes of fear I want to mention the following: The Tapirapé were alarmed by my fury when I saw a man whipping his wife. To relate this case means to confess a most ethnocentric and therefore in no way ethnological behaviour. But I think that in order to be an ethnologist it is necessary to be able not to be an ethnologist in certain situations. At noon on July 15 I see that behind the house in which I was living with Kamairahó and thirty other Indians, the athletic Inamoréo, nearly twenty-two years old, is beating a woman. With a cane and the blade of his bush-knife he is whipping his wife. She is so small and tender that she seems to be a child in spite of being perhaps twenty years old. I run towards the couple to interfere. The little woman is weeping despairingly, but doesn't go away. The man tries to tug her towards the house which is their house and mine also. She struggles. There he enters the house. Finally she follows. I enter also. The man holds the knife. I have nothing in my hands, but I am bound by my upbringing; I am the weapon of my culture and my culture is my weapon. I say to Inamoréo that people do not beat a woman like a dog. (I refer to this animal because frequently, among the Tapirapé, it can only thus be prevented from eating the people's food.) Inamoréo pronounces insults and his wife sobs. Now I explain to all the people present that beating a woman is a bad thing. Later, when I am sitting together with Kamairahó and his wife, I tell them that if a white man should whip his wife, another white man would kill him with a revolver. Jokingly I add: "If you, Kamairahó, beat your wife, I have to kill you with my revolver." With these words I go away.

After a while Kamairahó passed me with a depressed face. I ask him: "Where are you going?" Without smiling he answers: "I am afraid of you." I embrace him, I kiss him impetuously in the Tapirapé manner, that is, rubbing my nose against his nose; but all this is in vain. He waits patiently until I let him go, continues walking, and tells the men and women whom he is passing that he is afraid of me, the white man who kills those who beat women. May I observe here that I always went around without a weapon among the Tapirapé, keeping the revolver, as Kamairahó knew, in my hammock hanging close to his hammock, and even there the revolver was at hand only to be at the disposal of the same Kamairahó in order to protect him against the event of nocturnal attack by the Kayapó Indians, the most terrible neighbours. Kamairahó enters his house and immediately from there sounds an agitated and long talk. With the speed of lightning the news spreads through the village that Kamairahó is afraid of me and is lying in his hammock and that I would kill with a revolver the husbands who whip their wives. A middle-aged woman joins me, saying: "I am afraid of you." I assure her again that I am not bad, that, on the con-

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22

them. "Is it true," they ask, pointing westward, "that there is another Ara- 823
guaya (large river) there?"

The Tapirapé know well their traditional country—that territory north of the Tapirapé River to the River Preto, and west to the Araguaya. They know the plains country which borders the Tapirapé River and the tropical forest to the north where formerly their five villages stretched in a line some fifty to seventy-five miles apart. At least once during a man's life it was customary to visit all these villages, and before setting out he would acquaint himself with the rivers, hills, and good hunting places along the trail. At the present time, since the Tapirapé are a sedentary agricultural people, depending upon large gardens of manioc, corn, yams, and bananas, rather than upon hunting as the chief basis of their food supply, and since they have no trade, they do little travelling. The spatial limit of their direct experience is small.

[361] [574] [241] [944]

Knowledge of the horizons beyond their direct experience—of far off places and people, of the supernatural and spirit worlds, of the heavens, of the origins of peoples and things, comes to them only through stories of their legendary heroes, or through experiences of their shamans. Myths relate the creation, adventures, and travels of a series of ancestor culture heroes who took the form of civilizing gods.[2] Tapirapé shamans travel widely in their dreams; they whisk off to far places—to the Araguaya, to the heavens, to the home of Thunder (see p. 257)—in their "canoes" (opened gourds used as eating utensils by the Tapirapé), or they may take the form of a bird as they travel in dreams. Since a Tapirapé has this great wealth of vicarious experience to draw upon, he never answers for himself when asked of those realms beyond his knowledge. Instead he tells of the exploits of a legendary culture hero, or of the travels of a shaman "who has been there."

773 [756] [787] [415] [823]

The Tapirapé are thus equipped with a wide range of second-hand experience. They have no concept of a closed or limited universe. New knowledge either adds to, or fits into, their second-hand knowledge of a broad universe. Thus a Tapirapé youth, seeing for the first time the large rock formation at the mouth of the Tapirapé River, identified it as the place in which Panchai, a contemporary shaman, had seen the tremendous red parrots from which the supernaturals pluck feathers. Similarly, one travelling on the Araguaya recognized the large rapids below Santa Maria do Araguaya as those created by Kaowahu, a culture hero, to com-

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[2] Métraux, Alfred, La Religion des Tupinamba (1928), p. 7: "Pour les Tupinamba, comme pour la plupart des tribus sudaméricaines, certains personnages doués d'une puissance supérieure à celle du commun des magiciens ont été les artisans du monde tel qu'il se présentait à leurs yeux, mais ils en ont été souvent moins les créateurs que les transformateurs. Je veux dire par là que, même s'ils ont créé le ciel, les astres, et la terre leur œuvre est toujours partielle et incomplète, ne s'achevant que postérieurement à la suite d'incidents divers."

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

823 772 memorate the spot where he had eaten plentifully of fish. The Tapirapé view of the world is an expanding one; the people are eager to acquire more knowledge, as is attested by their numerous questions about one's home and one's people, about the sea, the mountains, and distant places.

773 In point of time, the Tapirapé consider the present as the third world. Twice people were destroyed, once by flood and once by universal fire. Before these catastrophes, there were pre-Tapirapé called Karanjuntuwera. These people lacked the many refinements which were later brought to the Tapirapé by their culture heroes. They ate several varieties of wild seeds, they did not have maize, manioc or any modern garden plants, and they lacked the bow and arrow. The Tapirapé are not certain whether the Karanjuntuwera lived before or after the flood, but when the great deluge came, one man and one woman climbed a small palm tree which grew as rapidly as the water rose, carrying them above the flood. After they had been there some time the man began to spear fish and snakes[3] which swarmed in the waters, using the long narrow palm leaves as spears. As he killed a fish or snake, the waters gradually diminished and finally ran back into the river beds.

Four ancestors escaped the second destruction[4] of people—the universal fire. These ancestors took the form of birds: there were two *jacu* which were men, and one periquito and one *nuatum*, both women.[5] These escaped underground and from the union of the two couples came "men" or *ampa awa*, as modern Tapirapé call themselves.[6]

[101] 773 "Culture heroes" were primarily instrumental in making the Tapirapé world what it is. When and in what order these heroes came is not stated.

776 Among them was Petura, a supernatural ancestor and great trickster. He stole fire from the vultures, day or dawn from the night owls, and *genipa*[7] from monkeys. These he brought as gifts to the Tapirapé. Finally Petura

776 went far to the northeast "where the earth ends and water begins" to live

[775] in Maratawa,[8] the home of all Tapirapé culture heroes, of shamans after

● [756] death, and of the sun and the moon. There he lives today. He never dies,

[3] From these primordial flood snakes, say the Tapirapé, descended their neighbors and enemies, the Carajá. "They (the snakes) had circles under their eyes" (the tribal face tattooing of Carajá).

[4] The sequence of fire and flood does not seem to be clear in legends. Two informants placed the fire before the flood. People during both epochs are spoken of as Karanjuntuwera.

[136] [5] *Jacu*: edible forest fowl, about the size of a large chicken, genus *Penelope*, several species. Periquito: *Pyrrhura viridata*. *Nuatum*: *Crax fasciata*.

[6] See Baldus, Herbert, Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira, pp. 207-219.

[7] *Genipa rubiacea* or *Genipa americana*: fruit from which black body dye is made.

[823] [8] Several informants described Maratawa as an island. To the Tapirapé, the lighted sky is encircled by black sky and on all sides below the edges of the lighted sky "where the black sky begins", the earth ends and water begins. Thus earth is a large island surrounded by water on all sides. The Tapirapé are quite willing to grant, however, that beyond this water may lie another earth.

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22

but lives and re-lives his life cycle as the cycle of the seasons. In the early rains of October to January, Petura is a small boy. During the heavy rains of January to March, he is an adolescent youth. He is a young warrior as the rains diminish in April to June, and as the year draws to its close for the Tapirapé during the remaining dry months, Petura becomes old. Then as the year begins again with the first refreshing rains of October, he begins a new life cycle. This is the agricultural year for the Tapirapé. They plant when he is young (October) and harvest as he matures (in May and June).

Petura was not the only hero who benefited the Tapirapé. To the "home of the gods" travelled Tomatociri and Mukwura II, other ancestor heroes, in search of their father Mukwura. There Mukwura gave his son, Tomatociri, the bow and arrow which he brought back to the Tapirapé. There, too—and this is typical of Tapirapé readjustment to newly-learned knowledge—the younger brother Mukwura II was given fire arms which he transmitted to his descendants, the Europeans or Tori.[9]

Shamans are equated with these ancestor heroes. If shamans die a non-violent death, they go immediately to Maratawa where they live plentifully supplied with food, tobacco, and all aids to the good life. If they die violently, however (i.e., are suspected of sorcery and killed by the Tapirapé) they go to another home of shamans in the west. This is the "home of the winds" where the heavy winds blowing from the southwest come during the late dry season. They are given an artificial face, and they stay here until they heal before going east to join their companions in Maratawa. Only shamans and culture heroes continue after life in the form that they had on earth.

It is chiefly through shamans that the Tapirapé know of the sun, moon and other heavenly bodies. A shaman had seen the sun "close by." The sun, he said, is an old man with no hair on his head. He travels through the heavens wearing a large head-dress of red parrot feathers, and since red parrot feathers are "hot," the head-dress gives off heat. Each night, after limping through his daily orbit (for the "sky is rough" and the sun continually has thorns in his feet) he returns underground to the east to his house at Maratawa.[10] There he eats very little and in a short time sets out again. The morning after Wanianamu, a shaman, had died, several Tapirapé saw that the sun was red; it was very "hot" and angry because a shaman had died.

As the sun is male, so the moon is female. Both are thought of as people,

[9] I was unable to get the original of this story before the obvious change was made to make it fit with new conditions. It is similar, however, to a Tupinamba story recorded by Thevet and quoted by Métraux (*ibid.*, p. 12), which tells of Arasoia and Tamendonare, twin sons of Sumay.

[10] See Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 14, for Siguia version.

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22

the largest ceremonial of the year which marks the beginning of the dry season and the harvest. Similarly, the position of the Pleiades is noted to date the many ceremonies of the heavy rainy period (November to April). One shaman had visited the Pleiades, and they, too, can be counted upon as a familiar power. The Milky Way is often referred to as the "path of the shaman," it is a well-beaten road over which the shaman travels through the sky in his dreams.

In common with many Tupi peoples, nothing in the realm of natural phenomena is as important to the Tapirapé as thunder. Among most Tupi, Tupan is a god or an ancestor identified with thunder. He causes the rumbling of thunder and flashes of lightning. Among the Tapirapé, however, Thunder[16] is a separate entity, a supernatural who has many "creatures" or *topũ*. *Topũ* are described as small beings about a hand's length in size, with white hairy down over their bodies, and wearing a small head-dress of red parrot feathers, European beads, and a lip plug. Small wax dolls are made in imitation of them. They travel through the sky in small "canoes," especially when there are strong wind and electric storms, and they carry red wild flowers with which they shoot Tapirapé in the stomach. These arrows are hot "like fire." Sometimes *topũ* are called "pets" of Thunder, and again they are referred to as his "children." In addition to *topũ*, Thunder has other supernumeraries, the souls of dead shamans, who live in the house of Thunder, commonly thought to be near Maratawa on the summit of a large mountain.

Each year when approaching rains bring heavy thunder storms, lightning and strong winds, Thunder sends forth his beings. The noise of the storm is caused by rumbling of *topũ's* canoes, and flashes of lightning are their speeding arrows. To protect the Tapirapé, and also their gardens, from the storm, shamans[17] "call Thunder," or "fight with *topũ*." In a four-day ceremony characterized by genuine fear, shamans gulp tobacco smoke until they are ill and intoxicated, they sing "calling Thunder to come," and chant until they "see" one or more *topũ*, or souls of dead shamans,[18] fight with them, and are struck down by their arrows. A shaman who fights a *topũ* tries to grab its small feather head-dress, take away its bow, or yank out its lip plug, its most vulnerable feature.

Violent behavior is the keynote of these ceremonies of fighting Thunder. When a shaman is shot by *topũ*, he falls screaming upon the ground, writhing and shaking, and then becomes unconscious. If men are not near

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[16] Thunder referred to as Kanawana (direct translation) is said to be called Pururuka, his personal name.

[17] Laymen and neophytes who have sufficient courage may also participate.

[18] In conversation and in song, there is confusion between these beings. Although the above distinctions are definitely made, they are often referred to interchangeably. For example, a Tapirapé may say, "*topũ* cause lightning," or "Thunder is angry and makes lightning."

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

to hold him, he may run wild through the village destroying property and endangering people. To bring him back, smoke must be blown over him by a shaman. While he is unconscious, he dreams and travels, sometimes visiting the house of Thunder.

"I smoked much and then I smoked again. I sang. I saw one large sun and it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They came and they left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came (to the house) in a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (a *tupã*). It wore a small headdress of parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug but it left." [The shaman did not conquer the *tupã* and he was shot down by an arrow while he was unconscious] . . . "all was dark. I saw many suns. I travelled singing as I walked. I spent three days walking. I climbed a large mountain on the other side of the Araguaya. There it is that the sun comes up. I saw Kanawana. He was big and his body was covered with much hair. He had many red parrot feathers. There were many *tupã* and many souls of shamans. I did not talk but came back." [If he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have stayed (died), but he was properly treated with tobacco smoke and returned to consciousness.]

Through shamans and legends of culture heroes, the Tapirapé know, too, of the multitude of "spirits" (*anchanga*) which populate the unseen world. These are of two general types: true spirits, disembodied souls of deceased Tapirapé;[19] and demons or malevolent beings of many classes. Shamans are accustomed to seeing true spirits in their dreams. These generally inhabit abandoned village sites, where they re-live their earthly lives. When they die—the second death—they become frogs, deer, *paca* and doves. Thus the toad is the spirit of a chief; the dove and *jacu* are spirits of men.[20] These ghosts cannot harm shamans who are accustomed to seeing them, but sometimes the spirits attack and strike down defenseless laymen.[21] They also cluster around a man's bier to carry off the soul as soon as the body is buried.

There are infinite numbers of "spirits" of the individualized demoniac class. Of these, some are "pets" which are not very dangerous, and which are represented by men in the mask dance cult.[22] Other species are very dangerous, but these are no longer seen by the layman. Formerly, these were numerous, and killed many Tapirapé, but Ware, a culture hero and powerful shaman, fought them and killed many. A man now points to the

[19] Speaking of Tupinamba, Métraux makes these same two categories of "supernatural beings" (*aygnan, agnia, ingange* and *anhanga*), *ibid.*, p. 51.

[20] Animals which have, or are, spirits can be grouped together. These are taboo to some age and sex groups, in a complicated dietary system.

[21] Dogs can see spirits. When a dog howls, Tapirapé say, "He sees *anchanga* but we can't."

[22] At one time women may have been frightened by these "dangerous" spirits, but certainly at present everything in the men's cults is known to women, and they do not even pretend to be frightened.

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A man now points to the
southwestern horizon and says, "Ware killed all spirits there; they are only spirit souls now." (To the north and east, however, many demon spirits are still alive and active.) Ware engaged in a constant battle of wits with the spirit world. He killed many of the dangerous variety by setting fire to their stringy hair which trailed behind them, and he also killed off another group of beings which clubbed men to death and drank their blood.

Sometimes shamans (*pueeke*) see malevolent beings in their dream travels, and may even become friendly with them or receive their aid. For example, one shaman told of wandering far in an unknown forest as he dreamed, and of coming upon the spirits called *oreya*, who have long hair wound in a mass, and who carry only one arrow with which they can kill a man. They were about to shoot him but he shouted "No, I am a shaman!" and they left him alone, gave him food and aided him to return. Only shamans can have such relations with these supernaturals. Tapirapé laymen are afraid to dream.

The shaman is indispensable to Tapirapé living, not only because he has dealings with the spirit world, and through his wanderings enriches the knowledge of men, but also because he is of value in many practical ways. Thus he controls the pregnancy of women. Pregnancy is known to relate to sexual intercourse, but conception comes only when a shaman brings a child to a woman. Thunder, and several types of birds, animals and fish, have "children," that is, spirits of children. The shaman brings one of these "spirits" to a woman, putting it inside her while she sleeps. A woman who wants a child can, *for* example, bring honey to a shaman. This will make him dream, and he will bring her a child. Similarly, a barren woman presumably "had quarrelled much with the shaman."

When Tapirapé swim, while fishing and shooting large turtles in the Tapirapé River, their safety depends upon the shaman. In this section of Brazil, rivers are full of alligators, *pirauha* (carnivorous fish) and sting rays, and according to Tapirapé belief, large snakes lurk in deep pools. Before men may swim safely the shaman must tie the jaws of the alligators, strike the *pirauha* across their teeth so they will not bite, and tie up the tails of the large snakes. When Tapirapé go hunting, it is up to the shaman to tell them where packs of wild pigs will be found, or to lead them down to a good spot in the plains country.[22] Danger may lurk in all food; thus Tapirapé often take new corn, fresh meat, or any food, to have danger "blown" out of it by the shaman.

The universe for the Tapirapé is not finite or entirely known; it is dangerous. Tales of culture heroes and experiences of shamans provide a

[22] When the Tapirapé have made kills of wild pigs, which are "pets" of Thunder he will be angry and send a sudden rainstorm clouding of the sky. If a Tapirapé sees an unexpected rainbow in the sky he will say, "The shaman has been successful against Thunder" (i.e., in finding game).

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

772
773 large framework into which all new knowledge can be fitted. And this
756 universe is dangerous. The shaman, by the use of his wisdom and insight,
his familiarity with celestial powers, spirits and far off places, is the only
751 intermediary between men and supernaturals. Through him, the Tapirapé
789 attempt to control their hostile and unpredictable world. Without the
shaman, as one informant said, "All Tapirapé would die."

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those for group singing during the harvest ceremonies and the ceremony of kawi (p. 176); those for the masked dancers during the dry season; and a very large number of songs specifically for the "Big Sing" (monikahó) during the latter part of the rainy season. During this period (approximately March through April), singing takes place throughout each night from sundown to sunrise. On these occasions, the singing leader and the men of one of the moieties introduce the verse of each song and the refrain is then taken up by the men of the other moiety and the women of the tribe. Women sing in a higher key than the men and, generally, a phrase behind the men. The songs of the masked dancers, each representing a supernatural being, differ stylistically from those used on other occasions in being sung in a falsetto tone, in a manner similar to that of the neighboring *Carajá*. Many such songs have been admittedly learned from the *Carajá*.

Dancing.—Both men and women dance as they sing. In general, the *Tapirapé* dance bending slightly forward, stamping out the time of the music with one foot. Dancing differs greatly, however, according to the occasion. During the harvest ceremonies, men dance in a line, side by side, each man's wife dancing directly behind him. During the group singing of the "Big Sing," the men dance in moiety groups facing each other, and women dance behind the moiety group of their husbands. On one occasion during this time, men dance with women, side by side, with a curious skipping step.

Games.—Men's moieties run foot races against each other after the communal work festival (p. 168); they race in a straight line across the village plaza. Wrestling takes place at one wet-season ceremony, and, now and again, throughout the year as sport. The *Tapirapé* explain, however, that the *Carajá* are better wrestlers and that it is more properly a *Carajá* sport. In wrestling, opponents stand face to face, grasping each other about the neck, and attempt to force or to trip the other to the ground. During one festival, men, one from each moiety at a time, compete by throwing blunt-headed spears at each other. Gambling games are unknown.

Stimulants.—Native tobacco, though used for leisure-time smoking, is principally a stimulant and medicine. A *Tapirapé* will not travel without a supply of tobacco to blow smoke over his tired body at the end of the day, in order to take out soreness and tiredness. Tobacco is necessary to shamans in all their activities. They blow tobacco smoke over the patient in curing (p. 177), and, to induce dreams and a trance, they swallow large gulps of smoke until they become intoxicated and nauseated. When people have seen ghosts, shamans fumigate them with tobacco smoke, in order to drive away the ghost's influence. Shamans fumigate new maize, the first honey of the season and, sometimes, fresh meat to drive out possible supernatural danger. This native tobacco is smoked

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
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by laymen in short tubular wooden or clay pipes and by shamans, in tubular clay pipes, sometimes 12 inches (30 cm.) long.

The *Tapirapé* do not routinely plant tobacco as other crops. Occasionally, it is transplanted from scattered patches around the gardens and village to near the houses or gardens, but usually the patches merely seed themselves. A person who discovers a new patch, hastily surrounds it with a low fence to show his ownership of it.

No alcoholic beverages are known to the *Tapirapé*. Beverages made from manioc and maize are prepared as a food and are not allowed to ferment.

RELIGION

Tapirapé religion is based on the belief in two kinds of supernatural beings—disembodied souls of the dead, and malignant forest spirits of many kinds—both designated by one generic term, ančunga (spirit or shadow).

The ančunga ïãnwera, human spirits or ghosts (aña or anhanga among the *Tupinambá*), live in abandoned villages and frequently come near to the villages of the living "because they are cold" and try to warm themselves close to the houses. The *Tapirapé* are afraid of meeting them and try not to go out at night, when the ghosts most frequently appear.

Souls of the dead continue to live for an undetermined period of time, then die and are transformed into animals. Anyone who hears the croak of a kururú frog (*Pipa pipa*) knows that it is the soul of a leader. A pigeon is the soul of a common man; a paca, that of a woman. The souls of the shamans have a different fate; they go to join Thunder.

In addition to the souls of the dead, there is a large number of malignant beings, also called ančunga, who dwell in the forest. They are very dangerous and kill as many *Tapirapé* as they find. Waré, a legendary hero and a great shaman, had the distinction of killing many ančunga, among whom were the awakú anká, by setting their long coarse hair on fire. The mumpianká were beings who killed men in order to drink their blood. Some of these forest spirits have become domesticated by the *Tapirapé*, thanks to the powers of their shamans. Several times the *Tapirapé* men dance with masks representing the visiting spirits (pl. 19, *bottom, right*).

Rites.—The real ceremonial season is the rainy season, when the people are thrown together because they can neither farm nor hunt. Mask dances celebrate the visits of the various spirits (ančunga) to the men's house during the dry season. At the end of the rainy season the harvest ceremonial (kaô) and the ceremony of kawi (a souplike beverage made of sweet manioc or of maize) are held.

In the first few months of the rainy season, when the maize crop is threatened by electrical storms and by the first heavy rains, the shamans

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
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are called upon to fight Thunder. This, the important *Tapirapé* ceremony, lasts for 4 days, and is the high point of shamanistic activity.

Karawana, the Thunder, lives on distant Maratawa surrounded by the souls of dead shamans and by the topũ (probably equivalent to the *Tupinambá* word, "tupan"), small anthropomorphic beings whose bodies are covered with white hair.

The topũ travel through space in their canoes (half gourds), the sound of which produces the noise of the storm. The arrows which the topũ shoot cause lightning. During the ceremony, the shamans, completely intoxicated by the tobacco and stimulated by the unceasing dancing and singing, fall into a trance (pl. 19, *top, right*) during which they travel to Thunder's house in order to fight him. Thunder sets the topũ against the shamans, who, wounded by the arrows of "Thunder's creatures," fall into unconsciousness.

SHAMANISM

The *Tapirapé* can visualize the supernatural world through the reports of the dreams of their shamans, whose power grows in proportion to their ability to dream. A dream is a voyage, during which the soul frees itself of the body and travels through space. In these dreams the shamans travel to regions which are entirely unknown to the living, and in general are inhabited by spirits. With their powers, the shamans succeed in taming some of the spirits, who then become their familiar spirits. The power and prestige of the shaman (pantẽ) depend on the number of his familiar spirits.

The *Tapirapé* speak of battles between shamans wherein each calls out his familiar spirits against the other while dreaming. More often, a shaman sets his familiar spirits upon laymen and kills them. A shaman may also kill his victim during a dream by throwing a malignant object, usually a piece of bone or a worm, into his body.

The victims of sorcery appeal to friendly shamans, who attempt to cure them by extracting the malignant object by suction, massage, and blowing tobacco. When many deaths occur simultaneously and the *Tapirapé* suspect a certain shaman of having caused them, they do not hesitate to kill him. One man recalled that during his lifetime 10 shamans suspected of sorcery had been killed. He himself had killed a shaman whom he suspected of having killed his brother. In spite of the constant suspicion surrounding them, the shamans do not employ mechanical techniques or sympathetic magic in sorcery.

The shamans make great use of tobacco, which is essential for healing and dreaming. They smoke it in large tubular clay pipes. Cures usually take place at dusk. The shaman squats by the patient's hammock and smokes for a long time, becoming intoxicated and blowing the smoke from the pipe over the patient's body. He then massages the patient,

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
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rubbing toward the extremities of his body. If he fails to extract the malignant object in this fashion, he sucks it out, swallows it, then vomits it up.

At one time, during an epidemic of fever, a shaman used a different method. He prepared a mixture of honey and water, and, after much smoking, spewed it out over the patients and on the houses where there were sick people.

Besides healing, the shamans must protect the people against dangerous spirits (*aañunga*); they call forth "children's spirits" without which there can be no conception; they prevent wild animals from harming the *Tapirapé* during great hunting or fishing expeditions; and they increase the number of peccaries in the woods. It is also believed that they divine the future in their dreams.

The prestige of shamans is such among the *Tapirapé* that almost all leaders of communities as well as of ceremonial moiety groups and household heads are shamans. As shamans receive payment for successful cures, they accumulate many possessions which they redistribute at a yearly ceremonial. Liberality is essential to prestige in this society where avarice is particularly despised.

MYTHOLOGY

Tapirapé myths fall into two categories: legends telling of the deeds of ancestral heroes, and tales of animals. In the latter, the tortoise (*Testudo tabulata*) is noted for his shrewdness in his dealings with the other animals of the jungle. These stories follow the general *Tupí* pattern.

Among the various *Tapirapé* heroes are Apũwenonu and Petura. The former descended from heaven and lived with the *Tapirapé*. He taught them to plant and harvest cotton, manioc, and maize. When he was old, Apũwenonu returned to heaven and changed himself into a star.

Petura stole fire from the buzzards and brought light to the *Tapirapé*, who until then had not seen day. It is also told of Petura that he stole hatchets and knives from the emu and gave them to the *Tapirapé*.

Txawanamũ is famous for a series of songs which tell of his adventures among the mythical ampũawa, enemies of the *Tapirapé*, who made him die a lingering death. Wančina, a great shaman, had his whole house, including his family and belongings, transported to heaven by Kanawana, the Thunder. Waré was another shaman who killed many dangerous forest spirits.

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13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940, 1953) 1964
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requited by gifts of beads, hardware, and salt which I provided judiciously from time to time. After a few days, I began noting questions to be asked of Champukwi in the late afternoon when he now habitually visited our house. But this was the time that others also liked to visit. At this hour of the day our house was often crowded with men, women, children, and even pets—monkeys, parrots, and wild pigs—for which the Tapirapé along with other Brazilian tribes have an especial fondness. Such social gatherings were hardly conducive to the ethnological interview or even to the systematic recording of vocabulary. So I asked Champukwi if I might go with him to his garden. There, alternating between helping him cut brush from his garden site and sitting in the shade, I was able to conduct a kind of haphazard interview. Often, while he worked, I formulated questions in my halting Tapirapé and I was able by repetition to understand his answers. Although the Tapirapé villagers began to joke of Champukwi's new garden site as belonging to the two of us, these days were very valuable for my research.

Walking through the forest to and from Champukwi's garden, we often hunted for *jacu*, a large forest fowl rather like a chicken. I attempted to teach Champukwi how to use my .22 rifle, but he had difficulty understanding the gunsights and missed continually. He attempted to show me how to "see" the *jacu* hidden in the thick branches of the trees, but I seldom caught sight of the birds until they had flown. Thus, our complementary incapacities combined to make our hunting in the tropical forest quite unproductive, and in disgust Champukwi often resorted to his bow and arrow. Only later in the year, after he had practiced a great deal by shooting at tin cans did Champukwi master the use of the rifle, and this new-found skill greatly added to his prestige among the Tapirapé.

My abiding friendship with Champukwi perhaps really began when I came down with malaria about six weeks after our arrival. During the first few days of my illness, I was oblivious to my surroundings. I am told that while one *pancké*, or medicine man, predicted my death, another tried to cure me by massage, by blowing tobacco smoke over my body, and by attempting to suck out the "object" that was causing the fever. Evidently his efforts—plus the atabrine tablets administered by Valentim Gomes—were successful, for my fever abated. I realized, however, that convalescence would be slow. Unable to leave the house for almost three weeks, I spent my days

Tapirapé village which he would have hesitated to relate on home grounds. He told me of adulterous affairs in process and of the growing determination among one group of kinsmen to assassinate Urukumu, the powerful medicine man, because they suspected him of performing death-dealing sorcery.

After two weeks in Furo de Pedra, I found that it would be necessary for Valentim Gomes and me to go to Rio de Janeiro. It was not possible for Champukwi to accompany us and so I arranged for two Brazilian frontiersmen to return him to a point on the Tapirapé River from which he could easily hike to his village in a day. Valentim and I then began our slow trip up the Araguaia River to the motor road and thence to Rio de Janeiro. Two months later, rid of malaria and with a new stock of supplies, we returned to spend the long rainy months from November until the end of May in the Village of the Tapirs. Champukwi was there to welcome us, and he came each day to help repair and enlarge our house. We easily fell into our former friendly relationship, now strengthened by the experience in common of the trip to Furo de Pedra and by the feeling which many anthropologists have shared with the people of their communities—that anyone who returns is an "old friend."

My return to the village that November marked, in a sense, the end of what might be called the first phase of my relationship with Champukwi as friend and as anthropological informant. During the course of at least 200 hours of conversation (many of which may be methodologically dignified as interviews), I had learned much about Champukwi as a person as well as about Tapirapé culture. I knew that as a small boy he had come from Fish Village, where his parents had died, to live in the Village of the Tapirs. He had lived with his father's younger brother, Kamaira, who was the leader of a large household. He even confided to me his boyhood name; Tapirapé change their names several times during their lifetimes and mention of a person's first childhood name, generally that of a fish, an animal, or simply descriptive of some personal characteristic, causes laughter among the audience and considerable embarrassment to the individual. I knew that Champukwi had been married before he took his current wife, and that his first wife had died in childbirth. He revealed that her kinsmen had gossiped that her death was caused by his lack of respect for the food taboos imposed

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115 When the heavy rains of late December and January set in, we
123 were all more or less confined to the village as the rivers and streams
124 rose to flood the savanna. What had been brooks in the tropical
132 forest became wide streams, difficult, and sometimes dangerous, to
133 ford. It rained many hours each day. The Tapirapé women and children spent most of the time in their dwellings, and the men and older boys lounged in the men's house. Our house again became a meeting place. And as this was of course an opportune time for interviewing, I joined the men in their club or entertained visitors at home. I began to see more of Champukwi—first, in the men's house and then as he again became a regular visitor at our house. Now, he brought his new (and younger) wife with him. He liked to sit up with us late at night after the other Tapirapé visitors had retired to their dwellings or to the men's house for the night-long sings that are customary during the season of heavy rains. Under the light of our gasoline lamp, we again took up our study of Tapirapé culture. Not once did he mention his period of antagonism except to complain that the Tapirapé gossip too much.

Sometime late in January there began what might be considered the second phase of my relationship with Champukwi. Our friendship was no less intimate than before, but our conversations and more formal interviews were not now as frequent. During the next months, Champukwi became almost my assistant, an entrepreneur of
115 Tapirapé culture. He continued to provide invaluable information,
123 but when I became interested in a subject of which he knew little,
124 he would recommend that I talk to someone else. Though he directed
● 756 me to Urukumu on the subject of medicine men or shamans, Champukwi himself related dreams he had heard other shamans tell. He
154 explained that he did not want to become a shaman himself, for
683 he had seen grieved relatives beat out the brains of Tapirapé shamans whom they suspected of causing a death by sorcery. He was not certain, he said, whether such shamans had actually performed sorcery;
987 but he reasoned that any shaman might come to such an end.
995 Champukwi did have the frequent dreams that are indicative of
996 one's powers to become a shaman and, in some of his dreams, he saw *anchunga*, the ghosts and supernaturals who are the aids of shamans. He had told only one or two of his kinsmen about this, and he did not want it to be known throughout the village lest there be pressure on him to train for shamanism.

morning we embarked downriver. My last memory of Champukwi was of him standing on the bank waving in *tovi* style until our boat made the curve of the river.

I did not return to visit the Tapirapé until 1953, but news of them came to me at intervals. Valentim Gomes returned to the region in 1941 as an officer of the Brazilian Indian Service, and his post was charged with the protection of the Tapirapé Indians. In his first year in this capacity, he wrote me: "I report that I was in the village of the Tapirapé on the 26th of July [1941]. They were in good health and there were plenty of garden products such as manioc, yams, peanuts, and the like. There were plenty of bananas. But I am sorry to say that after we left them, twenty-nine adults and a few children have died. Fifteen women and fourteen men died. Among those who died was Champukwi, the best informant in the village, and our best friend." Several slow exchanges of letters brought further details from Valentim. In some manner, perhaps through a visit from a Brazilian frontiersman, several Tapirapé had contracted common colds. Its fatalness to them is indicated by the name they give it—*ó-ó* (*ó* is the augmentative which might be translated as "big, big"). Since they have no knowledge of the process of contagion and have not acquired immunity to the common cold, the disease spread rapidly throughout the village. The Tapirapé realized, I knew, that colds and other diseases such as measles which they had suffered before, were derived from visitors. Yet they also believed that death resulted from evil magic or sorcery. Why do some people who are very sick from colds get well, they asked, while others who are no more ill, soon die? It is only because those who die are the victims of sorcery, they had explained to me. So, following many deaths, including that of a young man like Champukwi, who enjoyed prestige and had many kinsmen, I was not surprised to learn from Valentim Gomes that the powerful shaman, Urukumu, had been assassinated. As Champukwi had told me, suspicion of Urukumu had already been growing even during my residence in the village. After the death of Champukwi, one of his many "brothers" (actually a cousin but called by the same term as brother in Tapirapé) had entered Urukumu's house late at night and clubbed him to death. To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related